16: Hayden U-5 (1936) 1937 NU28 Papago NU28

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SOUTHWESTERN MONUMENTS MONTHLY REPORT

APRIL 1937

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK
SERVICE

[title page]

THE VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO

By Julian Hayden

796 In November, 1936, a dance, marking the end of a four year period, and apparently combining a harvest ceremony with a rain dance and possibly a commemoration of the sacrifice of the children, was held at old Santa Rosa, Papagueria. The dance, scheduled for 1935, but for some reason deferred till 1936, began November 1 at old Santa Rosa and continued there for ten days. On November 11 a ceremony was held at the shrine of the children, west of old Santa Rosa. A second ten day dance began there on the twelfth, reaching its climax and its end on Saturday, November 21. The following is an eye-witness account of events taking
114 place from twelve noon Friday, the 20th, to the end at four PM, Saturday, November 21.

Our party, composed of Charlie R. Steen, Junior Naturalist, Southwestern Monuments, Isabelle Pendleton and Julian D. Hayden, of Pueblo Grande, Phoenix, Arizona, reached Anegam, a large Papago village about two miles north of new Santa Rosa, at twelve noon on Friday. Stopping
[493] on the south border of the village, we heard singing and jangling of bells in the brush nearby, and saw wagonloads of Papagoes in holiday dress driving into the brush in the direction of the singing. A passing vaquero told us that it was permitted for white men to witness the dancing, so we followed a trail through the mesquite into a clearing, in which stood a dozen or more wagons, each with its family sitting in it or standing nearby.

796 In the clearing was a circular enclosure of tall arrowweeds, about
[417] ten feet in diameter, with an opening on the east side. A group of eight masked and costumed men was dancing in front of this enclosure, attended by a line of thirteen male singers, in work clothes, each man or boy with the half of a gourd tied over his face. Within the enclosure were several old men, also in work clothes, who apparently supervised the distribution of the articles carried by the members of the chorus. These, with an old man outside, seemed also to direct the dancing, correcting steps and gestures.

COSTUMES

796 Since the costumes of the masked dancers were the same, except for
292 minor individual variations, as those worn on Saturday, they are described
536 now. All wore great headdresses of turkey tail feathers, arranged in a
[237] clump tied to the top of the masks. Long feathers, one on either side of the clump, made by tying two or more feathers end to end, with white and in some cases red downy plumes tied to the upper ends, stood erect and waving above the headdress proper. The sack-like masks of deerskin or canvas had small eyeholes and a mouthhole, reached down over the shoulders, and had deeply fringed lower borders. The faces of these

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[534]

masks were painted in a black chevron pattern, the chevrons arranged in columns side by side, about an inch wide.

Attached to the back of the mask, below the clump of feathers and at about the base of the head, was a strap or panel of variously colored cloth or canvas, hanging free, usually about 4 to 6" wide, and reaching to the small of the back. This panel was fringed, usually with short turkey feathers, and had ornaments fastened to it. These ornaments were, variously, of tin, cut into diamonds, squares, or circles, of mirrors large and small, of cutout paper figures representing both a person picking sahuaro fruit and a curious human figure with what seemed to be horns on its head. One back strap had the chrome plated hub [111] shields of an Essex and Plymouth automobile fastened to it, brilliantly polished. Several had spread hawk wings tied to the panel edges in place of the turkey feather fringe. Others had the tail feathers of [825] the Western Red Tail Hawk arranged side by side across the bottom, with turkey feather fringe on the sides; another had the spread tail of a similar hawk tied across the bottom. The fringe of one strap was of the green imitation grass used in Christmas decorations. Another had, in place of the usual panel, a medallion about two feet in diameter, of long hawk or eagle feathers arranged radially about a small central disc, and attached to the headdress by a slender strap.

Many or all masks had a braid or twist of horsehair or human hair attached to each side, hanging down over the dancer's breast, and ornamented with tufts of red down or other bright plumes.

The dancers wore white garments reaching to the knees, usually sleeveless. Some of these shifts or tunics were opened up the side from hem to armhole, with overlapping edges apparently held closed by the belts which the men wore. Others wore plain tunics without the side opening. The belts were varied. Many were of wide canvas, with [534] cowbells and dinner gongs tied to them. These sometimes had a fringe of tinklers, made of cones of rolled tin five or six inches in length, hung by thread or copper wire from the lower edge of the belt. One man wore several immense brass bells, resembling sleighbells, three or more inches in diameter, on his belt. While most belts had a few bells, several were solidly hung with them.

Many dancers, in addition to a narrow belt with bells tied to it, wore fringed aprons, consisting of two roughly semi-circular pieces of canvas, one before and one behind, joined at the hips with string. One at least wore a black apron. Another dancer wore a cloth cartridge belt, with large wooden cartridges four inches long, painted red and blue, in the loops. At least one dancer wore a machete, in its scabbard, stuck through his belt. Some carried pouches attached to their tunics below the right breast, and several of these pouches looked suspiciously like ladies' handbags.

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

All the dancers carried quivers of arrows, the quivers being made of canvas, painted red or left natural color, or of skins. At least one quiver was made of the entire skin of a kit fox. These quivers were fastened across the small of the back at an angle, open end up and to the dancer's right. Many quivers were fringed. 796 292 411

Two or more men carried imitation powderhorns of cowhorn, in one case carried slung over the left shoulder and resting on the right hip, in the other, tied to the belt on the right side.

The dancers' arms and legs were bare, though a few men had shirt sleeves and Levi legs rolled up and showing beneath the tunic. Legs and arms were painted with what seemed to be white clay, decorated with groups of short vertical lines, done both in red paint and by scraping off the clay. 292 796 [302]

On the left wrist the dancers wore ornaments of skin, canvas, or of both. One wore the entire skin of a ringtailed cat wrapped around his wrist, the tail dangling. Other wrist decorations were made by wrapping the end of a long strip of material, two to four inches wide, once about the wrist, letting the end dangle a foot or more. These were often fringed, or had plumes tied to them, and were painted in colors. Many were red with white geometric patterns; one was yellow with diagonal green lines. [301]

Each dancer carried a wooden arrow, fletched with turkey feathers, the point carved out the wooden shaft, or carried a wooden wand or lance, in the left hand. These were red, with white banding. In the right hand most carried a bow made of grotesquely twisted wood. These bows ranged from two to two and one half feet long, and were also painted red with white banding. A few men carried wooden guns, one being made of a twinned saguaro rib, the butt representing the stock, and the ribs the barrels of a double barrelled shotgun. One or two men carried cheap commercial popguns. Several men with guns carried arrows in their left hands, though others carried wands and used them as ramrods. 293 796

Legs were bare from knee down, and the dancers wore anklets of black leather or of black cloth on which were sewed one or more rows of cocoons, fastened by one end. One dancer's anklets were solidly covered with cocoons, as if he had strung them and wrapped the string spirally about his ankle. All dancers wore sandals, of leather soles tied on with thongs. In some cases cocoons were sewn to the ankle binding, on the outside. 292 796

The chorus was made up of both men and boys, and each member carried ceremonial objects in both hands. All but two were bare headed, and wore halves of gourds bound over their faces. These gourds were decorated with horizontal zones of color, consisting of a blue band one and one-half or two inches wide at eye level, a red zone, extending 796 292 531

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 292 531 from the blue to the top of the mask, probably painted with ochre, which bore white figures in dots or short lines, and the lower zone in white, probably clay, which extended to the bottom of the mask and bore designs in red, which varied with each mask. All these red patterns resembled the typical Papago black-on-red pottery designs, consisting of scrolls, hachuring, diagonal lines, diamonds, etc.

796 292 The two choristers who did not wear gourd masks were small boys, who wore instead sack-like coverings of canvas which fitted down over their shoulders. These were not fringed. On the crowns was a clump of mustard yellow material, possibly dyed cornhusks, about two inches in diameter and an inch high. The masks had eyeholes, round ears of some thick material, possibly rawhide, about two inches long semi-circular and concave, and plugs or round wooden sticks, each about three-quarters of an inch in diameter and three inches long, fastened to the mask in place of a mouthhole. One of these was straight with squared end, the other was hooked and pointed. They were not painted, nor did the masks bear any painting.

DANCE MOVEMENTS, SONG, RITUAL OBJECTS

796 533 535 The dancers and chorus at this noon ceremony on Friday performed evolutions which were simpler and less elaborate than those performed on Saturday. The chorus entered the enclosure and there received from the old men the objects which its members were to carry. The dancers meanwhile waited outside the enclosure, posturing and treading the ground and jingling their bells. When the choristers had received their equipment, they formed in line in front of the enclosure and marched single file around it, contra-clockwise, preceded by the dancers, who leaped and ran and cavorted in front of them. When they had completed the circuit, the chorus came to rest, facing south, the leader nearest the enclosure, and the dancers stopped before the entrance, in front of the chorus, in a group. During this march the chorus was singing, and continued to sing after halting, raising and lowering their right heels in time to the song. The dancers shuffled or stamped or leapt into the air as they pleased, always in time to the song. They did not follow any fixed pattern in their movements about the dance ground, but milled about in a group, some dancing in one spot throughout.

796 533 The song, always to the same tune, seeming to be repetitive generally in the pattern a-a-b-b-a, was wordless, the syllable o-o-o-oh being used throughout, although words may have been rendered indistinguishable by the muffling of the masks. The time was the same throughout the song, but the rhythm was varied. The range of notes was short, probably not exceeding an octave. At the end of the pattern, the chorus repeated twice a long drawnout o-o-o-oh, each beginning on the same note, increasing in volume and rising about a half tone, held for a moment and ending in a slight diminuendo and a very slight drop in tone. At the

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

end of each, just before the tone stopped, a high pitched, clear, two syllabled call was sounded by a chorister, possibly by means of a whistle, which resembled a phrase of turkey or quail conversation. 796 533

During the first o-o-o-oh, the choristers raised the objects which they carried to armslength above their heads; during the second, they lowered them again to waist level. The dancers poised themselves at the end of the tune, and violently shook their hips during each o-o-o-oh poising again at attention between the two. The chorus repeated the song several times while standing in line, then trotted around the enclosure in silence, preceded by the running dancers, and entered it, giving their objects back to the old men and receiving new ones. 796 533 535

The objects which they carried varied with each period of dancing. No order or sequence in the distribution was noticed, though the cotton covered triangles, described below, were carried at intervals. These objects were, variously, slender wands 18" long or so, painted red with white banding; similar wands with desert grasses, possibly Indian wheat, tied around them at the top; slender wands, red, with balls made of raw cotton, about 4" in diameter, formed on the upper end, and with zigzag brown lines radiating from the top center and running down the sides; isosceles triangles held upright, the downward extension of the two long sides serving as handles, and the triangles filled in solidly with raw cotton, with a zigzag brown line on the front; husked ears of corn. 796 535 293

The chorus also carried, during one period, a flat, stretcher-like framework covered with white cloth, about eight feet in length, with rounded upper end, made by lashing light cross pieces to an outside frame. This was carried upright by several choristers, and the other choristers took sahuaro fruit-gathering sticks from the sides of the enclosure where they had been placed, and supported the frame with these hooking them over the top. These poles were about twelve feet long, with a short stick crossed near the top at an angle, the whole painted red. When the period ended, these poles were stuck back vertically into the arrowweed walls of the enclosure. [482] [412]

This dance lasted possibly an hour and a half. Towards the close, the old men inside brought out bundles of the objects, wrapped in burlap or blankets, and placed them in the wagons. They also brought out several bundles of clothing belonging to the dancers and put them also in wagons. Men also brought out gourd vessels, painted white with red designs trailing from the mouths, and placed them in the wagons. Several of these were wrapped in sacking. 796 [531]

At the close of the dance, the choristers took the cloth-covered framework and arranged themselves about it as if carrying a stretcher. The dancers grouped themselves at the forward end of the chorus, carrying the sahuaro poles, and they all set out down the road to Old Santa Rosa, to the southeast a couple of miles. While the chorus and dancers [482] 796 534

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CO"T.)

796 534 were forming thus in procession, boys and men, not in costume, brought out bull roarers, and these formed the vanguard, keeping the bull roarers whirling continually.

These bull roarers consisted of two pieces of wood, each about 18" long and about ¼" thick, an inch wide at the upper end and two or more inches wide at the outer end, which was cut to a short point. The pieces were attached to each other by a heavy cord five or six feet long. The sticks were painted, usually with red ochre, with geometric designs in white on them, of hachuring, diagonal lines, diamonds, or bands. A few were painted with white clay, with red decoration.

796 [492] The wagons fell into line behind the dancers and chorus, some twelve or fifteen of them, dogs and colts trailing along, young bucks on horseback riding up and down. A little over half way to old Santa Rosa the procession halted, and the dancers and chorus marched into a field to the left of the road. Here they rested a few moments, while the men got water to drink, and then sang and danced there in the field for about half an hour. Dancers and choristers alike broke ranks as they pleased and went into the brush, resuming the dance when they returned. The chorus did not march during this dance, although the song was the same as before, but formed in two lines facing each other, one on either side of the framework, which had been laid on the ground. The dancers were grouped just to the north of the ranks. We did not see whether or not the chorus carried any objects during this dance. At the end of this time the procession formed again and resumed its way, preceded by the men and boys with bull roarers.

Just before reaching the plaza at old Santa Rosa, the procession stopped, the wagons going on to the dance ground, the dancers and chorus remaining in formation while girls came running with blankets. They held the blankets up, apparently to shield the dancers from view of the crowds in the plaza. After a wait of half an hour or so, the dancers moved to the north edge of the plaza and halted again, still screened by the blankets, which were held before and about the group during this last short march.

Another group of dancers was gathered on the opposite side of the plaza 300 yards or so to the south, screened behind brush.

We were told by Papagoes that a similar dance was held that noon both in old Santa Rosa and in new Santa Rosa, and that both the Anegam and old Santa Rosa groups were now waiting for the new Santa Rosa group to arrive. During this wait the Anegam men lay down on the ground and rested.

796 417 The dance ground here was laid out between two NW-SE trending lines of houses, a hundred or more yards apart. A square enclosure of cane and tall arrowweed, neatly tied between horizontal poles into

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

walls about eight feet in height, had an entrance in the centre of the east side, and was oriented so that the sides lay NxS, ExW, respectively. This enclosure was about 30' along each side. Directly west of this and probably fifty feet away was a lean-to open to the east and west, measuring perhaps 12' across the entrance, and 10' deep. Between this and the enclosure was the dance ground proper, about which the chorus marched in a circle about 30' in diameter, as described below. 796 417 [343]

In front of the entrance to the enclosure, distant 30' or so, was a great pile of mesquite logs. About three P.M. small groups of gaily dressed women and girls, one group from the Anegam villagers and one from the old Santa Rosa, ran to the pile of wood. Each woman took up a piece and ran to the enclosure and left it, running out and making a complete circuit of the enclosure before running off the dance ground to her own people. This was done to the accompaniment of much laughter and gaiety among the crowds of women and spectators. Later, just before four P.M., and the beginning of the dance, after the new Santa Rosa dancers had arrived, this was repeated. 796

Meanwhile, many wagons had arrived, ranging in a great crescent about the west side of the dance ground, with the lean-to as center. School busses full of children from Sells Day Schools drove up, and several truck and trailer loads of Papago cotton pickers, brought in by white men from the direction of Casa Grande. [493]

At four P.M. the new Santa Rosa dancers and chorus, who had arrived shortly before, drew up in front of the enclosure, where they were joined by the local dancers and chorus. The Anegam group moved up to within 30 yards or so and halted. A crowd of men, mostly young men and a few boys, assembled, all with bull roarers, and raised a tremendous noise. The combined groups of dancers then trotted and ran around the enclosure several times, accompanied by the wielders of the bull roarers as well as by men and boys who ran alongside, laughing and shouting. The dancers clowned all through this, shaking their bells and cutting up in comical fashion. [522]

The choruses of the two groups dashed inside the enclosure, without running around it, carrying their equipment, and remained inside. The Anegam group joined in after the others had made several circuits, the chorus going directly inside the enclosure.

Then, the choruses inside, the dancers outside, singing began within. It seemed the choruses remained separate inside the enclosure, one in the SE quarter, one in the NE, and one in the NW quadrant. These choruses sang the same song as that sung at Anegam, but not in unison, each chorus singing independently of the others. The masked dancers outside stationed themselves in groups, one outside each corner within which a chorus was singing, and kept time, shuffling and stamping and jumping, to the chorus opposite which they were stationed. Dancers [533] 796 534

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

79% [534] from each group continually broke ranks and ran to the next, hesitating as if to catch the new rhythm, and joining in, only to break again in a moment or so. When darkness fell, most of the dancers were gathered on the north side of the enclosure near the NW corner, although a few were at each of the other two corners. This was all accompanied by much clowning and grotesque pantomiming, with hilarity in the crowd of onlookers, now numbering several hundred Papagoes.

After dark, about eight P.M., the number of dancers seemed to diminish, and many were running about over the plaza and among the crowds. We were told by a Pima that the masked dancers did individual dances before the camp fires of many or all of the Indian families gathered there, and asked for food. This received, the dancer put it in his pouch and ran with it back to the enclosure, where it was placed in the common supply for the dancers during the night. Within the enclosure six fires were blazing, about which throughout the night the dancers and chorus and onlookers warmed themselves. At four A.M. the dance stopped, the performers presumably getting some rest, and was not resumed till just before seven A.M., at sunrise. During the early hours of the morning, at least, only one chorus was singing, and few dancers were about.

The plaza was a colorful place Friday night, scores of camp fires blazing, masked dancers jingling about among the wagons and here and there in the darkness of the plaza new arrivals, in wagons and in cars, coming up and making camp, the singing continuous, with the repeated o-o-o-oh at the end of the tunes affecting us much as does the never-ending beat of the drums at other Indian ceremonies.

Before daylight the camp fires were burning brightly, lighting the great crescent of closely spaced wagons; a few babies cried here and there, and the soft pat-pat of women making tortillas was a monotone underlying all the varied sounds of the encampment. Horses whickered in the fields about the village, and now and then a mule brayed. The dancers were silent, save for an occasional jangle of bells as some dancer joked and postured for his friends about a fire.

The sun rose behind clouds, a brilliant dawn turning to a grey, cold morning. As the light grew stronger, but before the sun was surely above the desert ranges, the dancers began to gather in front of the enclosure. Just before seven A.M. they marched, jangling bells and cavorting in high spirits to the dance ground between the enclosure and the lean-to, and there broke ranks and gathered with the crowd of spectators on the south side of the dance floor. Visitors came running from all sides to the spot where they were, and we could not find out what was happening. A Papago, camped beside us, suggested that a fight was going on, but the crowd was quiet and orderly, though interested, and we were inclined to discount his opinion. Soon, however, the dancers broke away from the crowd and ran to the entrance of the enclosure, where they waited for the chorus to appear. There were now two choruses only,

one which was to march out with the dancers, and one which was to remain inside. Singing began, the same song as that sung during the night, and one chorus, of about fifteen singers, in elaborate costume, emerged from the enclosure and, preceded by the herd of dancers, marched to the dance floor. This chorus sang independently of the chorus inside. 796

Meanwhile, from somewhere came two score or more of men, all in army overcoats, who lined up against the west side of the enclosure outside, some standing, some sitting, as though they were privileged persons occupying reserved seats.

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The chorus carried, the first time, the triangular forms of cotton, representing, we were told, clouds, the brown zigzag lines signifying lightning. The costumes of the chorus were, in the main, as follows. Each man or boy, most were in their teens, was stripped to the waist, with bare legs and feet. They wore skirts brilliantly colored, both of cotton and of rayon, reaching to the knees. Many of these skirts had had panels in contrasting colors sewn to them, and one in particular had a vertical red panel on the left side of a blue skirt, with the four playing card symbols appliqued on it in blue. Several had Christmas tree decorations, tinsel, glass balls, etc., sewn to their skirts. Each chorister had, stuck in his belt behind, a pair of bull roarer sticks, nearly all of which were red, with white decoration. They all were anklets of black material with cocoons sewn to them.

From the waist up the choristers were painted red, spotted all over with inch wide circular daubs of white clay. About their necks all wore bright silk rodeo neckerchiefs. One boy wore a mirror strapped across his chest with bright ribbons. Several boys wore strands of Christmas tinsel, like crossed bandoliers, over their shoulders. All wore the gourd masks, with the exception of the two little boys who wore the sacklike masks described above. These boys also wore skirts. [302]

At the head of the chorus, which marched in single file except when several had to help carry floats, the two little boys trotting alongside near the head of the column, was a leader. This leader, a middle-aged man, was clad in a plain white tunic, belted at the waist and reaching to the knees. His legs were painted white, and he wore sandals; his arms were bare and painted white, his hands were black. About his head he wore a white band in which on the left side was stuck a long tail feather of hawk or eagle. The upper half of his face was painted black, and the lower half smeared with white.

This leader carried in the crook of his left arm a deep tray basket of Pima manufacture, about 18" in diameter, painted white and black inside and out in alternate eighths. In the basket was white meal, which held in place four sectors of short, dark turkey feathers, lying against the inside of the basket. 796
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VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 533 The chorus marched to the dance floor in single file, the leader, head bowed, in front. While the dancers, numbering about 34, grouped themselves near the center of the dance floor, the chorus halted facing south, on the north edge of the floor. Here they sang for a few moments, repeating the song more than once, the dancers jangling their bells at each long drawn out tone. Then the chorus marched again, still singing, making a complete circuit of the floor, while the dancers remained in the center, still dancing. This circle was about 35' in diameter. The chorus halted in front of the lean-to, facing east, and sang the tune through several times, possibly four in all. The leader, when the chorus had halted, walked back along the line, tossing a pinch of meal upon each one in turn. Then the chorus, ending the song, followed their leader in single file off the dance floor, marching along the south side of the enclosure and into it, while the dancers ran on ahead and waited for them outside, near the northwest corner.

Inside the enclosure, the second chorus, in similar costume, had been singing, holding the objects which the marching chorus was to carry on its next circuit. A number of times this chorus ended its song before the marchers had arrived, and waited in silence until they had entered. The outside group took the objects, and formed again at the entrance and began the march, resuming their song while the inside chorus received new objects from attendants and began the song also.

796 292 In the entrance of the lean-to, facing east, stood six people in costume, who apparently paid no attention to the dancers and chorus. Two girls in their teens, one younger than the other, stood side by side in the center of the entrance. They were flanked by two boys, one on each side, who in turn were flanked by two middle-aged men. The two men wore costumes similar to that worn by the chorus leader, were similarly painted, and held the baskets of meal. The two boys were nude to the waist, wore brightly colored skirts, and were bare legged and barefooted. The left half of their heads and torsos was painted black. Each wore a white head band with a feather stuck in the back of it. In their left hands each held a miniature bow and arrow, also painted black. The two girls wore ankle length skirts of bright material, one of brilliant green rayon, and were barefoot. Their arms and shoulders were bare, their upper clothing consisting of two wide ribbons or sashes crossed over the breasts and reaching the waist. The younger girl, in the green skirt, wore purple ribbons. These girls held in their right hands husked ears of white corn.

796 533 An old man who seemed to be attendant upon these four young people was dressed in blue denim trousers and coat, and wore a headband and feather. Inside the lean-to was a seated man in a white tunic and head band, with the lower half of his face painted white. His arms and hands were also white. He had in front of him several large bowl shaped baskets, inverted, and painted white. Throughout the morning he beat on one of these baskets with a stick, in slow even tempo, the beats about

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DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 1 TO 6

1 - Member of the chorus

2 - Objects carried by chorus and dancers

3 - Dancer, front view

4 - Dancer, rear view

5 - Costume of chorus leader and of the attendants in the lean-to

6 - Lean-to with attendants and four young people

[p. 272(A)]

16: Hayden U-5 (1936) 1937 NU28 Papago NU28

PLATE NO. 1

[p. 272(B)]

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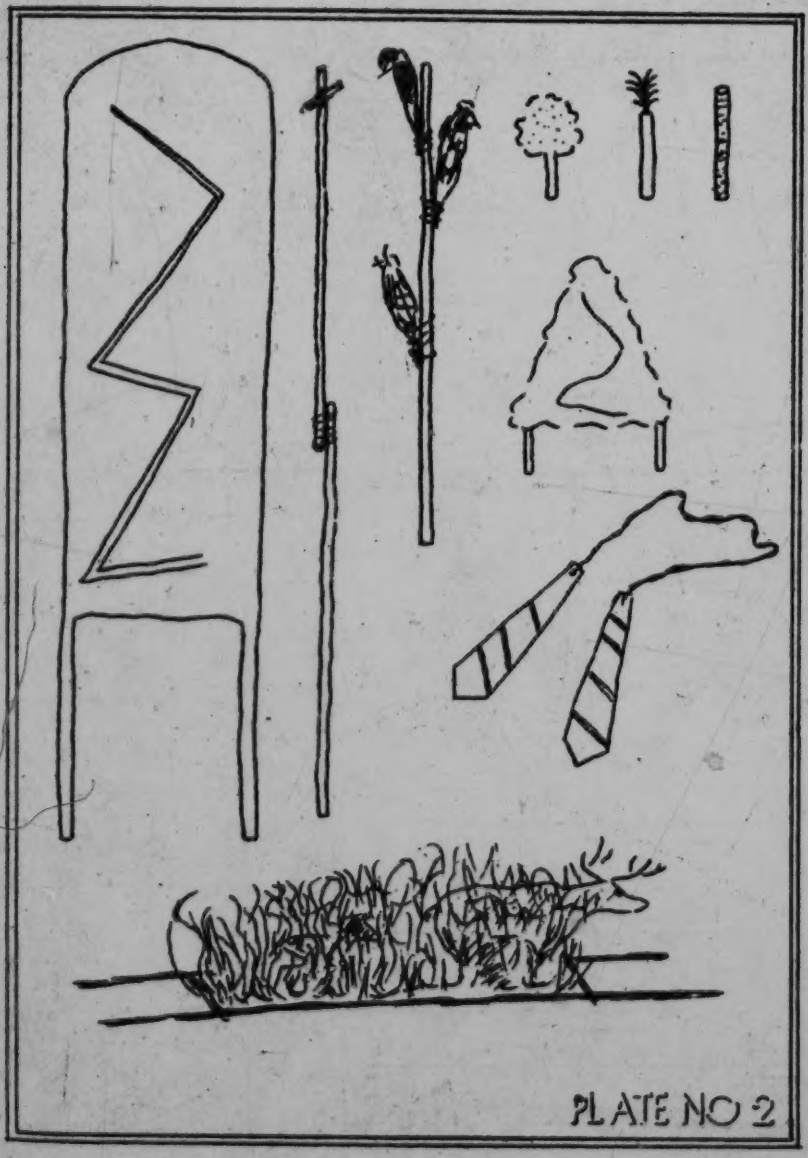

PLATE NO 2

[p. 272(C)]

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PLATE NO.3

[p. 272 (D)]

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[p. 272 (E)]

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PLATE NO 5

[p. 272 (F)]

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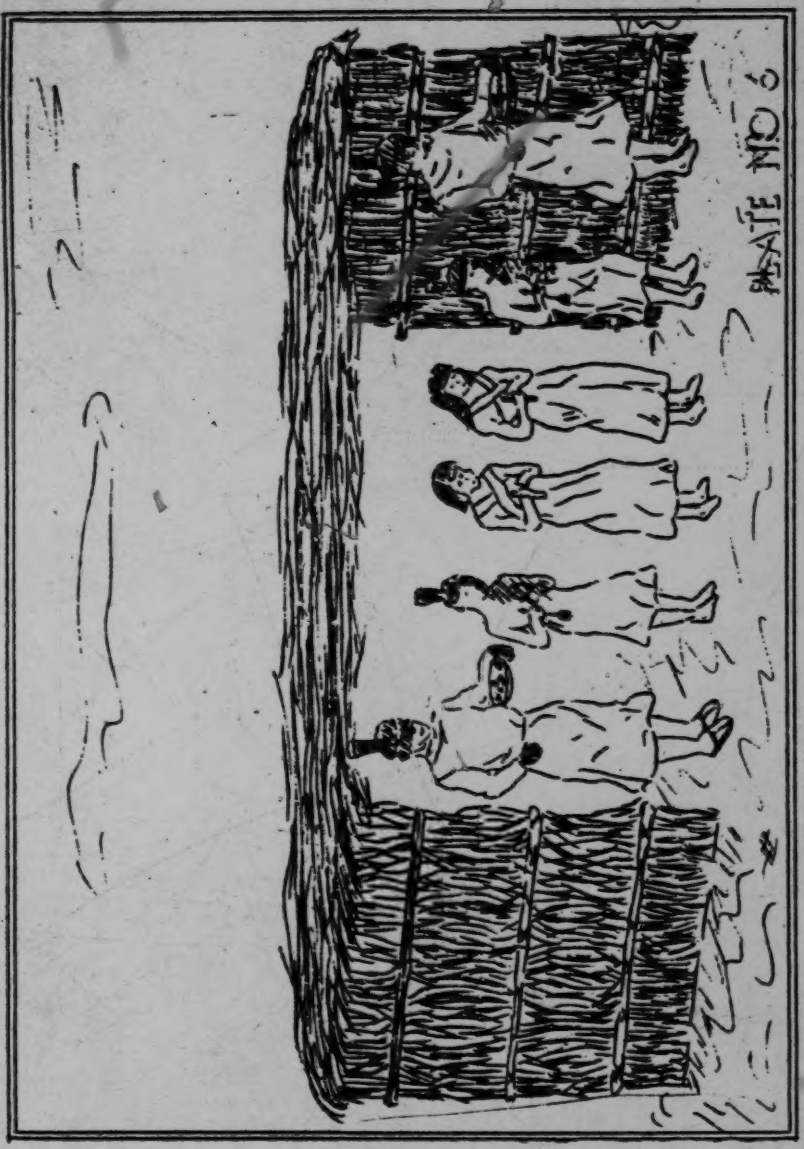

[p.272(G)]

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 four seconds apart. Throughout the afternoon he pulled a stick across
533 a notched and concave piece of wood supported between two of the baskets, in the same tempo. He held the far end of the notched stick firmly against the basket with his left hand, and pulled the other stick toward him with his right. The movements were evenly spaced, but abrupt.

796 The two boys, arms stiff at sides, extended them slightly at one
534 drum beat, and returned them to position at the next. The girls bent a little at the knees at one beat, and straightened at the next. The denim-clad attendant watched over these four like a hawk, correcting the angle at which the girls held the corn, or the boys their bows and arrows, tilting their heads up if they drooped, and wiping their faces
[516] carefully with a cloth every few minutes. These four, at intervals of possibly half an hour, were helped to a kneeling position by the attendant, where they remained, heads bowed and eyes closed, for perhaps ten minutes. At the end of this time the attendant carefully helped them to their feet again.

796 The men in white walked up and down at intervals in front of these four, and spectators were seen to walk with them on several occasions. What they or the spectators did we could not find out. Many of the
[781] people in the crowd watched these performers in the lean-to with great interest and respect, and the whole atmosphere of this part of the ritual was that of solemnity, in contrast to the clowning of the dancers.

796 During the morning, the chorus carried many different objects, in-
293 cluding several elaborate floats. In addition to the objects carried
532 by the chorus at Anegam, there were red staves about 6' long, with bundles of grass, resembling ears of corn, tied to them at intervals. Similar staves were carried at another time, with the addition of what seemed to be imitation corn tassels on the top of each one. Husked ears of corn were carried at least once. Each of these different objects was carried more than once during the day, notably the "cloud symbols" which were carried at more or less regular intervals.

The first float was a well stuffed deer standing on a stretcher-like framework of poles. The dancers prepared for his appearance with a great hullabaloo and much pantomiming, some crouching and aiming their guns, others pretending to set up blinds of grass, others stalking the deer and hunting for tracks. When the deer appeared, and during the marching, the dancers aimed at it with guns and bows or touched it with lances. The men with guns pretended to place the charges or to clean the barrels with their ram rods. The crowd applauded all this with much excited talk and many jests, answered several times by dancers who ran at the crowd and scattered the onlookers with fierce charging and warlike gestures. The chorus carried tiny bows and arrows painted red, held at the draw, each chorister aiming his arrow upwards to the left.

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 293 532 Later, after the chorus had marched several times with small objects, another float appeared, this one long, with four deer in single file upon it, with short arrowweed tied to it in bunches to simulate brush. These deer were made of dried deer skins and heads stretched over frameworks of sticks.

Another float, some time later, bore a deer and two fawns, in single file, partially concealed by clumps of arrowweed. Beneath the deer on the float was a small hemisphere of black cloth, about 12" high, and on top of this perched a bird cut out of thin wood and painted black. It had a humped back and large hooked beak.

The last float of this kind bore one deer, a shaggy old brute with tremendous grizzled head, the hide stretched crudely over sticks, as was done in the case of the two preceding deer floats.

The dancers went through the same performance with each one of these floats, and the chorus carried bows and arrows with each. Beside the deer floats, there were several others. One, requiring six choristers to carry it, was a long stretcher on which was a model of Baboquivari[1] some four feet long and two feet high, with the peak standing a foot above the sharp ridge. This was of cloth stretched over a frame, painted an uneven green color. Behind the mountain, one on each side, were two pyramids of white cloth, about a foot high. In front of the mountain, and on the same float, was a large black hemisphere, some two feet in diameter, on which perched a bird, possibly a foot high, cut out of a flat piece of wood. This bird also was humpbacked and had a large hooked beak. The wing, beak and legs were black, the rest of the body and the head were white. The chorus carried triangles in this procession.

One float, coming later, was a representation of Santa Rosa mountain about three feet long and twenty inches high, sharp ridged. This was painted a dirty grey color and on it were sahuaros about ten inches high, painted blue. Just below the peak, on the side of the mountain was a human figure in black, cut out of flat wood, square-shouldered and square-headed, about six inches high. Its arms were straight and held out from the sides, and its legs were bent out at the knees, feet apart.

Another float consisted of a roughly hemispherical frame, covered with brown cloth, about 3' long and 2' wide, on top of which stood what seemed to be a clump of grass about 6" high. A similar float, but smaller, a foot and a half in diameter, was carried later by one man of the chorus, and this had what seemed to be two green corn leaves sprouting from the top of it. What the choristers carried with these floats we did not notice.

[1] [A near-by mountain.—Analyst]

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

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In the afternoon a white cloth covered framework similar to that carried at Anegam was brought out. This was about ten feet high and four feet wide, with a bilobate top, each lobe the same size, one of which had a smaller lobe at its edge just below the top. The high wind which came up before noon made this an extremely difficult thing to carry, and the dancers, propping it up with sahuaro sticks, were hard put to it to keep it from blowing away. In this period the dancers discarded their bows and arrows, took up the sahuaro fruit gathering poles and held the frame upright by hooking the short sticks at the end of the poles over the top of the frame. A similar framework was brought out a little later, probably the same one carried at Anegam.

After this a float bearing a blue mountain about 3' long and 18" high appeared. Triangles and semicircles of white paper pasted on light stick frames were fastened upright about and on the sides of the mountain. The choristers carried triangles behind this float.

The last float observed was a hemisphere on a stretcher, some four feet in diameter, solidly tied in with raw white cotton, and with brown zigzags leading from the top centre down the sides. This was almost demolished by the wind before the procession was completed. The choristers carried the wands with the cotton balls on the upper ends during this period.

796 [132]

About ten A.M. an east wind came up, blowing in gusts, and increasing in velocity as the day wore on. The dust blew in dense clouds, along the north and south sides of the enclosure, across the dance floor and directly into the lean-to. How the four young folks there breathed at all was beyond our understanding. The old man was continually wiping their faces, especially their eyes, with his cloth. In the afternoon the dust was so heavy and thick, swirling in stinging blasts, that we could not see the dancers eight feet away from us. A little girl sitting on the front bumper of a car nearby went to sleep and fell off on the ground without waking up. An hour later she was drifted deep in sand, and we were afraid she would suffocate.

About 11:30 A.M. the chorus entered the enclosure and remained inside, and we were conscious of a renewed interest and vitality in the crowd of patient and dusty spectators.

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A dancer ran around to the dance floor and there, with a stick, described a circle on the ground, about 8' in diameter, leaving a narrow opening on the east side. He then returned to the group awaiting on the east side of the enclosure. Then several dancers ran to the dance floor, each carrying a gourd, painted white, with red lines trailing from the rims, each with a stopper of wadded cloth, and very carefully set them upright around the circle, just inside the line, scooping out a hollow in the ground to hold each gourd upright. These men entered the circle on hands and knees, head down, as though crawling

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535 through a low doorway. Other dancers, by twos and threes, did the same, while the dancers already on the floor postured and clowned and apparently made fun of the newcomers. When most or all of the dancers had brought in their gourds and set them up, the whole group ran around to the front of the enclosure and halted for a moment. Then the group again ran to the dance floor, one man carrying an effigy of a deer, made by stretch-
[532] ing a small deer hide over a stick framework, with antlers tied to its head.

This the bearer set on the gourd just south of the circle, and the dancers stalked and killed it with lances. This was accomplished with the most grotesque pantomiming, the dancers creeping up on the deer and spearing it. The crowd of spectators enjoyed this tremendously, cheering on the hunters and offering advice. Meanwhile the high gusty wind kept blowing the gourds over and rolling them on the ground, so that the dancers had to chase them and put them back in place. A little yellow puppy, very much excited by the uproar, dashed into the milling
[522] dancers, barking and chasing them. The dancers turned on the pup and pretended to hunt it, finally chasing it off, brandishing their weapons and leaping into the air. This also was much enjoyed by the onlookers.

After the deer had been dispatched, it was skinned and divided, still in pantomime. Then the dancers gathered in a great circle, tangent to the east side of the circle inscribed on the ground, and sat down. The ensuing few moments were apparently spent swapping lies about their
[522] hunting exploits, one holding his hands apart to describe the length of his catch. Another took a Bull Durham sack from his pocket and pretended to roll and light a cigarette. Others reached over and took up gourds, only to be stopped and apparently scolded by two men who sat in front of the entrance to the circle of gourds.

Soon, however, the men guarding the gourds turned and on hands and knees took them up and passed them out through the entrance. They were handed about the circle of seated dancers, who removed the stoppers and pretended to drink deep from the vessels.

Now occurred a drunken riot in pantomime, in which the dancers became drunker and drunker, and the action more and more ridiculous. One man imitated a drunk sick to his stomach, with appropriate motions, collapsing on the ground and rolling about, helped up by other drunks who
[831] then collapsed with him. Others performed various obscene gestures, mimicking the discharge of natural functions, and evincing a rather considerable knowledge of various perversions.

One by one the drunken dancers staggered off the dance floor, breaking into a run when outside the ring of spectators, and going to the enclosure. Last out were three, apparently boon companions, who had a most difficult time helping each other off the floor, complicated by the puppy, which dashed about them, yapping and snapping

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at their heels, quite terrifying them. 796 535

Now, the time being twelve noon, the crowd dispersed to its various camps, and ate lunch, and for about an hour no dancers or choristers appeared.

About one P.M. a few dancers straggled out of the enclosure, as if to warm up before the afternoon performance, and by two P.M. the dance was in full swing again. The wind and dust had increased, and a heavy black cloud was moving up from the southeast, from the direction of Baboquivari. [132]

The dance from two until four P.M. employed no new floats or objects other than those noted above, but about 3:30 the young people in the lean-to, with their attendants, disappeared. The crowd began to disperse, and an old Papago told us that rain, for which they had been dancing, was coming soon, that the dance would end before five, and that after the dance, in the evening and night, everyone would get drunk. We left at four, and as we left the crowd of spectators, the dancers were coming out carrying hoes and rakes, the choristers carrying sticks on which were imitation ears of corn. The rain was almost upon us then, dense clouds of dust preceding it and blotting out the entire scene. 796 [786]

The dust was so heavy in the moments before the rain began that we had to stop our car, unable to see the road, or even houses and corrals within three feet of us. Then the rain started, and in this rain we proceeded homeward. [132]

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